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*ILLUSTRISSIME PRINCEPS, EPISCOPE REVERENDISSIME:*  
HOW DID JOHN OF THE LITHUANIAN DUKES  
FINANCE HIS LIFE AS PRINCE AND BISHOP?

From childhood the son of Sigismund the Old and Catherine Telniczańska, John of the Lithuanian Dukes (1499-1538), knew he was a prince; and so did his contemporaries. When the widowed sister-in-law of Bishop Albert Tabor, Anna Bartoszowa-Taborowa formally adopted him as her son in 1526 as part of a mutually advantageous financial settlement, she addressed him as “most illustrious prince, right reverend bishop, your Lordship, my most sweet son” (For Taborowa, see below, pp. 117-18, 124). A Tatar envoy in 1530s’ Volyn is alleged to have gazed in awe at the bishop appared in splendour and seated “obwysz jakoby na majestacie.” As bishop of Poznań John styled himself “illustrissimus princeps ex ducibus Lituaniae ... in Shawlye et Janushpolie dux.”<sup>1</sup> However, maintaining princely estate does not come cheaply. The aim of this article is not to examine in detail the financial records of this princely cleric for such documents no longer exist, nor shall we speak in general of the official income of the bishops of Vilnius (from tithes, service dues, landed estates, fines and so forth, which as ‘feudal rents’ have been analysed by Jerzy Ochmański); rather we shall examine, where the meagre sources permit, how the bishop garnered income from property deals, patronage

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<sup>1</sup>The Tatar episode is recorded by Łukasz Górnicki (60) as an anecdote told by (Jan?) Kmita Kuncewicz whose family had close ties with the bishop; John used his Šiauliai and Janushpol style when confirming the Statutes of the Poznań Chapter on 12 July 1537 (see *Acta Capituli* [Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Poznaniu] vol. 10 [CP 37], fo. 122v; cf. *Joannes ex Ducibus Lituaniae, Dei gratia episcopus Vilnensis, praepositus Plocensis terrarumque Schaviensis et Krzemencensis palatinus et haeres*. [15 March 1530, Bp John’s charter for Zarasai] (*Privilegia* fo 176r). He would not purchase Tikhoml and rename it Janushpol until 1535 (see below, pp. 110-11, 113).

of artisans, loans, and tax farming to fund his activities as a prince of the Church and a responsible secular lord.

#### CHILDHOOD EXPENSES

In his tender years John's everyday life was financed by the royal treasury but when he entered his twelfth year (after 8 January 1510) his rudimentary household was funded largely by the income to be derived from his ecclesiastical appointments.<sup>2</sup> In March 1510 the king informed his vice-chancellor, Bishop Maciej Drzewicki of Przemyśl that he intended using his papal indult to appoint ten new prelates to raise the Venerable Joannes de Thelnicz to a canonry in Cracow. By the summer of 1510 John's birth from two noble parents had been legitimised by Pope Julius II and the youth was a cleric of the diocese of Cracow.<sup>3</sup> His royal father arranged for John's appointment to a financially well-endowed canonry in Cracow Cathedral, vacated by the death of a royal secretary, Canon Jan Podlodowski (on 12 April 1510) (Wyczański 262. On the Podlodowski family see Kaniewska 47-74, esp. 50, 52; Świątkowska 85-106). John took up his stall by proxy on 12 September 1511. He held the wealthy Rosiejów prebend (also known as Podłęska), which at the best assessment earned 127 *grzywny*, 24 groats for the canon and his vicar, compared with the 68 *grzywny*, 4 groats received by their counterparts in the Gorka prebend, which fell to the diplomat and provost of Wrocław, Mikołaj Czepel, who entered the Chapter around the same time as John. It seems that no sooner had the new canons been appointed than a dispute arose between the pair for receipt of a 4 *grzywny* tithe at Lusina which belonged to the Gorka prebend (Kowalski 98-100, 115-16); the discord lasted from 1510, when John or his representative was alleged to have seized the tithe, to 1514 (Urban 104, 108). John's step-father, the royal treasurer An-

<sup>2</sup> Sigismund the Old's court accounts reveal something of how the young boy was clothed, served by a rudimentary household (nurse, tutor, body servant) and provided with pocket money and furnishings (see *Rationes Curiae Sigismundi Iagellonici, ducis Glogoviensis et Opaviensis, Silesiae et Lusatiarum summi capitanei, de annis (1493) 1500-1507* 171, 218, 263, 410, 461, 468, 501, 521, 572, 592; *Rachunki podskarbiego Andrzeja Kościeleckiego z lat 1510-1511* 8-17). Between September 1510 and April 1511 John received at least 140 *sexagenae* (8,399 groats) from the royal treasury.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Drzewicki (Nominatio Joannis de Thelnicz ad canonicatum cracoviensem – Warsaw, AGAD, *Metryka Koronna* (vol, 24, fos 245-246r); legitimization of Jan de Thelnicz on 29 July 1510, “pro nobili etiam illustri ac legitimo teneri” (*Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae* Nr. 366, 334-36): 1510 07 29, pro nobili etiam illustri ac legitimo teneri.

drzej Kościelecki saw that the youth obtained one of the chapter houses at the foot of the Wawel in Cracow, but he was compelled eventually to surrender it, after failing to fulfil the conditions of his lease. A pattern gradually emerges whereby John developed an interest in the financial opportunities offered by control of town housing and he relied on proxies to order his affairs. Kościelecki also assisted in drafting the paper work required for pursuing John's new career. The documents proving his suitability for election to a canonry in Poznań were drafted in Kościelecki's house in Cracow.

In addition to his Cracovian benefice John also held two posts as provost (in the cathedrals of Płock and Poznań) each of whose income was the equivalent of that of a minor Polish bishopric (or Vilnius, where the benefice was valued by the papal bureaucracy at 600 florins). Both had been held previously by Sigismund's chancellor, Jan Łaski. According to the papal nuncio Fulvio Ruggieri, in 1565 the provostship of Płock was worth some 6,000 zł a year (whilst a local canonry brought in merely 200) and the provosts of Gniezno, Poznań and Warsaw also enjoyed a high income (*Analecta Romana*, 82 (23 Sept. 1519); Tafilowski 103, 111-112). In addition to his spiritual duties the provost of Płock also governed the duchy of Sieluń as the territory's feudal lord. At Whitsun 1539 as every year 800 florins in Polish coin was paid into the bishop of Vilnius' treasury from Płock and converted into Lithuanian currency.<sup>4</sup> Even though the king asked for John to be allowed to retain two benefices along with his new bishopric, and Pope Leo permitted him to keep all his benefices, it seems that Sigismund required John to resign from his Cracow canonry (to be replaced by Stanislaw Oleśnicki) and the wealthy provostship in Poznań, which was filled by John's rival in the chancery Andrzej Krzycki, the future bishop of Przemyśl and Płock. John's career had to fit in with the king's broader ecclesiastical patronage policy.

Having returned to Cracow from a period of study in Italy, John joined the royal chancery. In 1518-1519 he obtained a stipend of 150 gr for his services as one of the king's secretaries, which A. Wyczański (58, 59) noted was three times the salary paid to his contemporaries. However, this sum is probably a sign of royal favour rather than a hint that he was viewed as a potential royal secretary; John was being taught how such institutions work, knowledge essential for competent administration of both Church and state.

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<sup>4</sup> "Arenda prepositure Plocensis. Pro festo pentecostensi quotannis solvitur in tesaurum Reverendissimi domini episcopi Vlnensis Pauli in numero et moneta polonicali VIIIc flor. Que summa facit ex polonicali in numerum et monetam lithwanicam" (*Proventus* fo. 31).

BISHOP OF VILNIUS,  
PALATINE OF ŠIAULIAI, DUKE OF JANUSHPOL

The see of Vilnius was a prestigious prize for John, since it was the prime diocese of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and occupied a similar place (fifth) in the ranking of Polish sees to the much older and richer diocese of Poznań. However, as we have noted, it was reputed to be a poor source of income. In his 1536 letter to the Cardinal Protector of Poland recommending the appointment of John's successor, Duke Paul Holszański [Lith.: Alšėniškis], King Sigismund the Old noted how "proventus episcopatus Vilmensis adhuc non sunt adeo opulenti ut episcopus posset cum decentia ac ut res postulat et statum suum ordinare et ecclesiae onera explere" (*Acta Tomiciana tomus octavus decimus* 66). John resigned as provost of Płock, a post he had held since 13 October 1512, in Paul's favour in 1536. Indeed, despite holding this profitable benefice John appears to have lacked ready cash, especially during his early years in Vilnius. In 1523 he sought a loan of 200 sexagenae from the Chapter Treasury for which he had to pawn a necklace made of gold and jewels (*Acta Capituli* § 177). Such loans to members of the aristocracy were not unheard-of, as the cases of 200 sexagenae loaned to Wojciech Nasilowski, and Jerzy Ilinicz (*Acta Capituli* § 168, 183, 338.17; § 81, 120); in the Autumn chapter of 1525 John requested information about such loans and what was done with the income they generated (*Acta Capituli* § 332.16). In October 1523 the bishop attempted to obtain a charitable subsidy in the form of a gift (*nomine doni coloratum*) from his diocesan clergy (whose wealth had been surveyed during a visitation the previous year). However, the canons refused to sanction such a levy, fearing lest doing so would have dire consequences (*ne id trahatur in turpem sequellam*), and pointing out that John's predecessors who had been poorer than him had never made such a request (*Acta Capituli* § 192). Around this time John was planning to found two new prelaties – the offices of scholastic and cantor – in Vilnius Cathedral and faced the likelihood of having to finance them for the foreseeable future in part at least from his own income (*Acta Capituli* § 151, 203).

John appears to have been strapped for ready cash. In October 1524 he agreed with the canons that future bishops should pay one hundred golden ducats upon joyful ingress into their see or present a golden chalice. John asked that in his case he present an equivalent amount in labour (not his own, of course) (*Acta Capituli* § 269). It is not clear whether this labour refers to construction of the cathedral bell tower, half the costs of which John promised

to meet in the Autumn chapter of 1522 (*Acta Capituli* § 110) and on which a notable sum was spent by Canon Wieleżyński from income derived from offerings for wax at St Casimir's tomb in 1523 (*Acta Capituli* § 209). Construction costs served and continue to serve cover for a multitude of financial sins in history and the present. As ordinary in Poznań John also avoided presenting his new cathedral with a chalice; he also undertook repair work – this we know from chapter demands that his executors repay John's debts. In 1526 John's friends in the Vilnius chapter allowed him to 'borrow' 50 sexagenae from the silver offered to St Casimir (*Acta Capituli* § 391.2).

John's financial acuity in amassing funds due to him *ex officio*, such as income from fines – the case of the lieutenant of Vilnius castle and the supreme marshal in 1522 required payment of 100 rubles to the king and bishop and the same to the cathedral building fund (*Acta Capituli* § 65) – and the property of those clergy who died intestate led on occasion to conflict with other heirs and accusations of abuse (*Acta Capituli* § 301). In 1523 John was accused of acting *ex avaritia pecuniarum et bonorum* with regard to the notary Grigalius of Lwówek, whom allegedly he imprisoned for no apparent reason and could not release because the whole process had been illegal (*Acta Capituli* § 188).

From the list of issues raised for discussion by the bishop in the Autumn 1525 session of the Chapter and the canons' responses we may be certain that John was keen to obtain as much information as he could on what income was owed to the bishop. The canons responded that they would supply details after John was consecrated bishop, an event much desired but little expected by the Chapter (*Acta Capituli* § 332.13, 338.14).

In short there was a considerable gap between what amounts were agreed to be paid by the bishop in theory and how money changed hands in practice. The long-lasting dispute between John and the Vilnius Chapter over income from the bishop's town and district of Ihumen (modern Chervyen, 66 km east of Minsk) is a case in point. Ihumen paid 1,094.56 sexagenae in tax to the bishop (the other 19 mensa estates in Ruthenia paid a total of 276.47 sexagenae), according to Jerzy Ochmański's calculations from the records for 1539. In other dues in kind it paid 323,10 sexagenae. Its market square contained 15 houses, the same number as at Gervėčiai, where John founded a church in 1536 (only in Salakas were there more – 19) and it had more street houses than anywhere else owned by the bishop (40) (Ochmański 82, 88-89). In 1430 Grand Duke Vytautas granted the district to the bishops of Vilnius in perpetuity on condition that they fund the chantry priest of St Michael's

Chapel and the clergy who recited the Psalter there for the repose of the souls of the ruler and his wives; two thirds of dues paid in honey, silver, and the pelts of martens and beaver were to go to the bishop and one third to the canons, who were obliged every Ember Day to offer Mass and sing vigils for the souls of Vytautas and his two wives (Anna and Julianna). The value of the canons' share was estimated at 80 sexagenae a year, or 20 sexagenae per quarter. These monies were contributions to the canons' refectations and daily expenses. It seems that over time the bishop failed to pay these dues and as a result the canons ceased making these memorial offerings. In 1518 John's predecessor, Albert Radziwiłł agreed with the Chapter that the dues owed from Ihumen be monetised and paid as refectations. On 6 April 1521 John issued a concord to the canons reviewing the history of the Ihumen payments (*ratius*, nonpayment – *nusquam solvebantur*) and including a copy of Vytautas' original charter. He noted how non-payment of the dues in silver, beaver and martens had led to neglect of the memorial services – “ratione cuius non solutionis divina officia et animarum suffragia tanto tempore sunt neglecta” – and promises to pay 40 sexagenae in refectations and daily expenses every quarter in addition to the honey tribute (Rowell, “Jogailaičių dinasto” 127). It would seem that all was settled. However, this agreement covered the payments due from silver and furs. The issue of the honey payments continued. On 19 December 1522 the chapter gathered to discuss a loan requested by the bishop for 200 sexagenae. The canons required John to guarantee repayment by handing over property worth twice the sum and connected the money with payment of the annual 40 sexagenae from Ihumen along with the honey tribute. After Christmas, on 2 January 1523 John pawned his property and obtained the 200 ducats' loan. He also had to sign a document promising to pay the Ihumen money (*Acta Capituli* § 171, 176). On 22 November 1523 the canons voted to include the Ihumen agreement in the Chapter's Statutes (*Acta Capituli* § 210) but two years later they were still asking for the bishop to pay (*Acta Capituli* § 331.4). By spring of 1525 the canons had submitted their dispute over Ihumen to the papal court in Rome. On 3 June Pope Clement VII sent his verdict to Vilnius, namely that John was obliged to make the annual 40 sexagenae payments. Two weeks later on 17 June 1525 the papal case examiner (auditor causarum) Petrus Andreas published the results of his inquiry, acknowledging John's debts and threatening severe censure for the bishop if he should persist in his negligence. The court's sentence was to be read publicly in the Lithuanian cathedrals of Vilnius, Medininkai and Lutsk within 60 days (Rowell, “Jogailaičių dinasto” 127) . The papal bull was read

during the Chapter's autumn session by the proctor, Canon Jan Siculus on 12 October and the most reverend lord bishop left the chamber: 'Hic exivit Reverendissimus' (*Acta Capituli* § 355). In the midst of all this conflict over the Ihumen refectory John put forward a proposal that the next diocesan synod be asked to approve a new contribution called the *cathedraticum* to fund repair work on Vilnius cathedral (*Acta Capituli* § 358.2). He also promised to pay the refectory money on Christmas day and so henceforth (*Acta Capituli* § 369). However, the following autumn (2 October 1526) the chapter agreed to report the bishop to Rome (again) if he failed to pay the required 40 sexagenae (*Acta Capituli* § 389). This despite the fact that in September 1525 the bishop had threatened anyone sending unapproved material to an external court with one year in his gaol (*Acta Capituli* § 306). During the spring chapter on 13 April 1529 it was revealed that the bishop was considering to set apart some property belonging to himself or the Mensa from which the Ihumen money could be paid (*Acta Capituli* § 464). The episcopal accounts for 1539 note of Ihumen that when the ordinary was attending a sejm or taking part in a military campaign near Minsk this estate was supposed to provide the bishop with food and lodging, whilst the income from the district was to be shared by the bishop and canons. On 2 October 1559 Sigismund Augustus renewed and confirmed Vytautas' donation of Ihumen to the bishops of Vilnius (*Proventus* fos 14r-v, 15; 1559 confirmation, *Jasas* 225). From this long drawn out dispute it seems clear that the bishop did not deny the rights of his canons to a third of the income from Ihumen and members of the Chapter fought for their rights, going so far even as to submit a supplication to Rome. It is unlikely that John enjoyed being the subject of public papal condemnation. We can only conclude that there was a problem with the supply of money, either payments were not made to the Treasury on time or the bishop used the funds for other more pressing matters.

Apart from his two ecclesiastical benefices John was endowed with secular estates. From 1524 he was styled palatine or duke of Šiauliai (Szawle), a large tract of land belonging to the grand duke in Žemaitija, which in the late fifteenth-century had been administered by the Kęsgaila family. Sigismund sought to retrieve the estate from local Žemaitijan boyar control and so granted it and its income for life along with lordship over the local gentry and their officials (*ciwun*) to Bishop John on or before 23 April 1524, when John presented his letters of endowment to the king in Cracow. In June of that same year the monarch sent his courtier and envoy, the Drohiczyn boyar Olechno Borisovich Bokey to instruct the starosta of Žemaitija, Stanislovas

Jonaitis Kęsgaila not to obstruct John's servants who had come to administer the district. The bishop's lieutenant (in October 1528 at least) was one Stanisław Piotrowicz Olechnowicz Kuchmistrzowicz, who had been one of John's courtiers in 1521 (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 1* 101; *Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 12* 303-304; *Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 7* 444-446; Kolankowski 370; cf. Saviščevas 157, 295; *Acta Capituli* 38; § 55). We have no details of the bishop's income from Šiauliai but we know of some of his expenses – in 1536, after his appointment to the see of Poznań he founded a church in the aptly named northern village of Joniškis and recruited a boyar levee from the district.

In September 1525 Sigismund granted the bishop life-long rights to the castle of Zhitomir in what is now Ukraine along with its inhabitants with the income as had belonged to the ruler (except for those owed by local dukes, nobles and gentry). He had the right (and implied duty) to do as he saw fit with the castle (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 12* 416; no 530). After John's death the castle returned to the monarch.

The king's last major donation to John was the castle and town of Kremenets in Volhynia (Western Ukraine) for which Sigismund issued a charter on 21 November 1529. This became the centre around which John established his duchy of Janushpol.<sup>5</sup> Sigismund grants John and his children, heirs

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<sup>5</sup> "In nomine Domini, amen. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam, divina dispositione nemo ignorat ab eterno esse preordinatum et virtuosa hominum precertim insignium facinora laudabilesque actiones atque merita a prefectis et principibus, quibus magna a Deo tributa est potestas in terris, liberaliter compensantur, munerentur et beneficiis efferantur, unde presentibus et posteris detur incentivum aviditasque crescat virtutes amplectendi ac antecessorum benefacta pro possibilitate invitandi et augendi. Proinde nos Sigismundus Dei gratia Rex Polonie [!], Magnus dux Litvaniae Russiaeque totiusque Prussiae, Mazoviae ac Samogithiae etc dominus et heres universis presentibus et futuris presencium noticiam habituris, quibus expedit vel in futurum quomodolibet expedire poterit, tenore presencium significamus, Quia nos habentes comendata fidelia, assidua et utilia merita Reverendissimi domini Joannis Episcopi Vilnensis sincere nobis dilecti, quibus se ille nobis studuit et studere non cessat indefesse reddere gratum et acceptum, volentesque nostre erga eum gratie clara testimonia apud posteros suos relinquere et ipsum ad similia nobis obsequia diligenter exhibendum promptiorem et obligatiorem in posterum reddere, eidem bona nostra Crziemieniecz de consilio senatorum Magni Ducatus nostri Litvaniae ac de mera liberalitate, sciencia et gratia nostra dedimus, donavimus et contulimus prout damus, donamus et conferimus per ipsum dominum Joannem episcopum eiusque liberos, heredes et legitimos successores supradicta bona Crziemieniecz cum omnibus boiaris et servis alias *putnymy* ab antiquo ad eadem bona spectantibus et pertinentibus necnon cum omnibus opidanis, villis, villanis et earum advocacys ac jurepatronatus ecclesiarum ibidem erectarum vel in posterum erigendarum et generaliter cum omnibus hominibus, liberis et illiberis utriusque sexus, domibus, tabernis, areis, hortis, horreis, curiis locatis et denuo locandis, campis, pratis, agris cultis et incultis, silvis, borris, nemoribus, mellificatoribus, mellificiis, apibus et melle ex eis proveniente, salicibus, gaiis, mericis, rubetis, ferarum



and successors possession of Kremenets in perpetuity as a reward for his good actions and an incentive to be even more zealous to serve him in the future. The formulation of the document is traditional and the reference to offspring was probably included as part of the usual formula even though, of course, in 1529 the bishop was still only in minor orders and theoretically could still leave the clerical estate. John lost little time in bringing order to his new bailiwick.

A considerable part of John's contribution to the defence of Kremenets, apart from rebuilding work in the castle and its supply of arms, derived from the villages he owned in the local district within a radius of 9-15 km from the fortress. The inhabitants of these settlements were expected to supply the garrison with services and products. In total eighteen villages served the castle of which eleven belonged to the bishop (Zholoby, Kolosovo, Velia, Velia dvorets, Dvorets, Dunayev, Rudka, Tsetsenevtsy, Demkovtsy, Kukurevo, Dribovo). Most of these were purchased from other local landholders (*Litovs'ka Metrika* 203-205).

While Zhitomir, John's other south-western possession, was in an area dominated by the Ostrogsky dukes, around Kremenets John consolidated his Ruthenian estates (For a general history of Kremenets and a survey of pre-

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et presertim bisontum castorumque venacionibus, ancupiis, fluviis, fluminibus, stagnis, lacubus, piscinis, vivariis, piscibus, molendinis quibusvis constructis et in posterum construendis, et eorum emolumentis cum omnibus et singulis utilitatibus, stacionibus, *podvodis*, censibus, daciis, solucionibus grossorum, mellis, mardurum, frumentorum ac generaliter cum omnibus et singulis utilitatibus, fructibus, attinenciis et obvencionibus alias *uchodi* quomodolibet ad predicta bona ex antiquo pertinentibus, que nunc sunt et in futurum humana industria excogitari fierique poterunt et singulariter cum teloneo illic ab antiquo solvi et exigi solito ita late et longe et circumferentialiter, prout dicta bona Crzemieniecz in suis limitibus seu finibus ab antiquo sunt distincta et limitata cum omnibus denique officiis juxta *horodnicze* et aliis eorumque proventibus dudum ad eadem officia pertinentibus ac cum omni iure et dominio ac proprietate, nihil ibidem juris et proprietatis pro nobis et nostris successoribus penitus reservando, tenendo, habendo, pacifice possidendo, eisdem bonis utifruendo, creando, donando, commutando, obligando, vendendo, alienando, inscribendo, resignando et in suos successorumque suorum usus arbitrarios et beneplacitos, prout eidem domino episcopo utilius et melius videbitur expedire convertendo perpetuo et in evum, nostro tamen inprimis desuper consensu requisito. In quorum omnium fidem et robor et sufficiens testimonium sigillum nostrum Magni Ducatus Litvanie presentibus est appensum. Datum in Losycze in die Presentacionis Sanctissime Domine Nostre, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo nono, Regni vero nostri anno vigesimo tercio. Presentibus magnificis Constantino duce Ostrogiensi, palatino trocense et supremo exercituum Magni Ducatus Litvanie capitaneo, Alberto Gastold palatino Vilnensi et eiusdem Ducatus cancellario, Georgio Radivil castellaneo Vilnensi, Curie nostre marsalco et capitaneo Grodnensi, Joanne Zabrzezinski magno marsalco Litvanie et palatino Novogrodensi, Petro Kyska Polocensi, Joanne Hlebowicz Vitepstensi palatinis, Vasilo Czisch magistro stabuli nostri aliisque aulicis et subditis nostris fidedignis. Sigismundus Rex subscripsit" (Sigismund the Old's Kremenets Charter for Bishop John, 21 Nov. 1529).

vious research see Sobchuk 71-112). On 7 March 1531 Sigismund the Old confirmed the donation by the childless Volyn boyar Mikhail Deniskovich and his wife of one third of his Verboe manor that served the castle of Kremenets. Deniskovich mortgaged the other two parts of his patrimony to John for 550 sexagenae (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17* 125-26). Two years later on 20 May 1533 the same Mikhail Senkovich Deniskovich donated a third part of his Pankovtsy manor (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17* 125-26), which stretched towards Rudka and Tikhoml, which belonged to the Seniutich family (see *Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17* 373-75; no 390; *Archiwum ksiąząt* 455; vol. 3).<sup>6</sup> On 20 May 1533 in Kremenets Ivashka Senkovich Deniskovich and his sons Soltan and Petr sold John the village of Demokvtsy and the manor of Verkh Veli for 230 sexagenae. The sellers referred to their helplessness in the face of the threat posed by the Tatars (*Akty Volyns'koho voevodstva* 72-74). It appears that that same day in Kremenets Olekhna Ivanovich Dedko along with his sons, Andrei and Mark, acknowledged John's possession of the third mortgaged part of the manors of Viazoviets and Diadkoviets which John had purchased from Senka Denishkovich and other boyars for 50 sexagenae, and John purchased the remaining two parts of the manors for 150 sexagenae for the same reason, namely that the owners felt themselves incapable of defending their patrimony against the Tatars (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17* 375-76; no 391; *Archiwum ksiąząt* 455; vol. 3; no 474). Sigismund the Old confirmed both agreements in Vilnius on 8 October 1533. Two days later the monarch confirmed yet another of John's Volynian purchases, namely the manor of Isaevo with the estates of Khoteno, Lovcha and Grimicha for 60 sexagenae. In Lutsk on 8 April 1532 Tikhno and Olekhno Grinkovich Kozinski sold John his manor of Isaevoe (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17* 376-77; no 392; *Akty Volyns'koho voevodstva* 71-72; no 10). On 31 October 1533 in Vilnius John asked his father to confirm Magdeburg legal rights for Kremenets and on 28 November the monarch confirmed John's instruction to Bogovitin Petrovich, the *horodniczy* of Kremenets to reside in the castle.<sup>7</sup> The bishop took the defence of his new castle very seriously.

On 9 September 1533 the monarch permitted the childless owner Ivan Khrebtovich to sell his Dirbovo (Hrybowo) village to John for an unspecified price. That autumn between September and December the local boyar Semen Babinski sold the bishop his estates of Diniatno and Kokorevo along with

<sup>6</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17*; no 426 and 427. In 1537 Tatar forces attacked Pankovtsy – Cherkas 223.

<sup>7</sup> *Akty Volyns'koho voevodstva* 81-84; no 13; *Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17* 400; no 413.

Dniskotinevo and Podvyskoe for 1,000 sexagenae; part of this property John later sold to the Kremenets horodniczy Bogovitin Petrovich Shumbarski for 500 sexagenae and 40 zloties (*Archiwum księżąt* 435; vol. 3, no 458; *Akty Volyns'koho vovodstva* 100-102; no 21).

On 16 December 1533 John began to buy out the Tsetsenovtsy estates, when Mikhail Moisevich Tsetsenovski sold him his patrimony. Three months later on 20 March in Vilnius Andrey Mikhailovich Sangushkovich Kozhersky sold his Tsetsenovtsy lands to the bishop for 830 sexaganae, a sale that was confirmed six months later by the monarch (*Archiwum księżąt* 452, 458-59, 474-75; vol. 3, nos 470, 480, 494; *Akty Volyns'koho vovodstva* 84-89; nos 14-15).

On 22 March 1534 Mikalojus and Jonas Radvilos sold John Dunajevo, Kulikovo, and Rudka for 500 sexagenae and the deal was confirmed by Sigismund the Old on 10 November 1534. In 1536 John would hand these estates over to Queen Bona (*Akty Volyns'koho vovodstva* 89-92; no 16).<sup>8</sup>

Finally on 31 January 1535 Hrichko and Roman Jeskovich Seniutichi sold Tikhoml to John for 150 sexagenae on the condition that he build a castle there. Tikhoml was renamed Janushpol to become the centre of John's duchy in Volyn and feature in his official title (*Archiwum księżąt* 20; vol. 4; *Rus'ka (Volins'ka) metrika* 369-70, 372-75, 132).

After John was transferred to the diocese of Poznań in 1536 the bishop exchanged several Kremenets properties (Isaevoe, Onikovski, Dunaev, Kulikovo, Rudka, Tsetsinev, Demkovtsy, Verkh Veli) with Queen Bona in return for the right to collect customs duties in Volyn. Evenso John did not surrender all of his Volynian property to her and he remained duke of Janushpol. After the bishop's death these holdings went to his half-sister Beata Ostrogska who purchased the strategically important village of Lepesovka close by the town and castle of Janushpol from Queen Bona in 1548 (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 32* 49-51).<sup>9</sup> John did not lose his rather predatory eye for acquiring Ruthenian estates. On 4 June 1537 the owner of Shpikolosy Jatsek Zhabokritsky complained to Queen Bona that he feared attempts by the bishop of Poznań to force him to sell or otherwise hand over his property and on 9 October that year Queen Bona asked her Kremenets starosta to investigate the actions of John's agent, Bishop George Chwalczewski of Lutsk regarding Zhabokritsky who had indeed sold John his estate at Dvoret

<sup>8</sup> *Akty volins'koho vovodstva* 89-92.

<sup>9</sup> Bona had purchased the village from Fedor Andreevich Sangushko in 1536 – *Akty Volyns'koho vovodstva* [12 Oct. 1536]; no 19.

(*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 25* 204). Judging perhaps it to be better to reign in Lithuania than serve in Poland, provincial historians persevere in the claim that Bona so hated her stepson that she had him removed from Vilnius and exiled to Poznań.

John spent a huge sum of money – several thousand sexagenae to repair the castle at Kremenets and provide it with weaponry, especially cannons. He sent his treasurer Canon George Chwalczewski there on at least one occasion, as the Vilnius Chapter records show in 1531 (*Acta Capituli* § 528). John bought or otherwise acquired as gifts 11 of the 18 villages serving Kremenets Castle from local boyars. Thus, 89 of 275 villagers were his personal subjects.

All three territorial possessions were intended by Sigismund not only to bolster John's income but also to appoint a capable administrator of sensitive areas without having to favour a local candidate whose authority might cause considerable disruption. In Žemaitija the monarch countered the political domination of the Kęsgaila family and the local independently-minded gentry without favouring another powerful magnate; in Volyn, an area disputed by Polish and Lithuanian nobles, Sigismund installed a duke who was neither Polish nor Lithuanian but both – a Jagiellonian or an outsider, like Queen Bona. The infrastructure established by John was exploited later by the queen and the servants such as the Chwalczewski brothers he favoured went on to serve Bona.

John sought to derive income from landed property, acquiring useful houses and estates, and consolidating possessions already under his control, such as when he exchanged plots of land with the Vilnius Chapter to rationalise the properties next to his palace in Vilnius, or when he built a house beside his orchard and later established fish ponds (*Acta Capituli* § 332.19, 431). In Vilnius the bishop purchased a brick kiln on the banks of the River Neris on the road leading to Žemaitija. It had belonged to Martin Shvarts the Rigan, a burgher of Vilnius and his family. In the subsequent re-sale document he emphasises having bought it from Shvarts' widow with his own funds derived from his hereditary property. On 30 June 1536 he sold it to the city administration for 150 sexagenae on condition that in 1537 and 1538 it produce bricks and cement exclusively for rebuilding the cathedral at the bishop's expense. Several years earlier he had founded a glass works, the first known in Vilnius, where he installed a master glassmaker from Poland, Jan Palecki. It stood on the banks of the Vilnelė River also near the road to Žemaitija. John exempted the works from paying taxes on condition that

Palecki provide window glass and glass vessels for his court. The bishop promised timber for building a house and fencing (Rowell, "Jogailaičių dinasto" 132-33).

In October 1533 the palatine of Trakai, Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński donated a house he had purchased before the Great Fire of Vilnius (2 July 1530) and a plot of land where the roads leading to the Holy Ghost Church and the bishop's palace meet with the right to build houses for rental (Rowell, "Jogailaičių dinasto" 136, note 30). It may be this or another house on St John's St that was mortgaged by the bishop for 250 sexagenae to pay for construction work on Canon Caspar the Warsawian's chapel in Vilnius Cathedral. John's executor Bishop George Chwalczewski redeemed the house from the Chapter on 1 October 1541. The house on 'Holy Ghost St' was rented out to in 1548 to the burgher Stefan Kirchel, his wife Anna and his daughter Elżbieta for their lifetimes on condition that they pay 36 sexagenae every year, half at Easter, half at Michaelmas to the four mansionary priests serving the bishop's memorial chapel in the cathedral. This agreement was confirmed in 1571 by Sigismund Augustus for Elżbieta's husband Krzysztof Tarnowski and their heirs with the same requirement to support John's chapel (Rowell, "Jogailaičių dinasto" 140-41, note 45).

John's largest project concerned not his mansionary chapel but the reconstruction of the whole cathedral building after the Great Fire of 1530. John decided to bring Italian masters from Płock where work was under way on building a new Italianate cathedral in place of the one which had also been destroyed by fire. On 22 July 1534 John agreed a contract with the master architect employed at Płock, Bernardino Zanobi de Gianotis (Gianotti) (fl. 1520-1541) who was to die in Vilnius. Bernardino's assistants were Giovanni Battista Cini (fl. 1530-65) and Filippo di Fiesole (fl. 1530-40). Even though John had been collecting funds from indulgences to pay for the construction work, the biggest burden seems to have fallen on his shoulders. He promised to pay the expenses of bringing workmen to Vilnius, of paying the architect an annual salary of 100 Hungarian ducats in gold (for five years) and a weekly salary of 10 groats for him and his servant. Bernardino was to receive 10 ducats a year in place of a set of winter and summer clothes. The contract was drafted in careful detail, including payment should lack of supplies mean the architects are unable to work. This attention to detail is a typical feature of John's professional life. Building materials were to be supplied in part from John's brick kiln, which he sold to the city authorities. On 23 November 1538 John's executor and building inspector, Bishop

Chwalczewski paid Bernardino 100 Hungarian ducats (Rowell, "Jogailaičių dinasto" 137-38).

In May 1536 the bishop is mentioned in a customs' dispute, where he was alleged in his absence to have collected tolls controversially from barges on the River Neris passing through the manors of Zhodzishki (Smarhon District in Belarus) and Verkiiai (near Vilnius). That such tolls were due to the monarch rather than the bishop or other landowners along the Žeimena and Neris rivers was made clear by Sigismund the Old in a case against John's successor, Bishop Holszański in 1542 (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 19* 154; no 143; *Jasas* 177; no 444).

By contrast on occasion John did receive considerable amounts from the royal treasury, such as the 500 sexagenae he obtained in November 1532 for his involvement in the otherwise unknown (Sidor Vasilevich) Koptev case, and 100 sexagenae for a Kievan matter (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 15* 206, 207; no 161).

#### FAMILY MONEY?

After John reached adulthood his father Sigismund the Old did not finance him directly, although he did present him with opportunities to make his own living through endowment with ecclesiastical benefices and landed property. The young cleric was not alone. His step-father Andrzej Kościelecki, the castellan of Wojnicz and subtreasurer of Poland, oversaw John's interests in Cracow and Poznań but he did not bequeath him anything in his will when he died in 1515. When his mother died in the late summer of 1528 Catherine bequeathed her children and grandchildren (Regina's children) a house in Cracow on ul. Bracka, a pearl necklace worth 600 zł., and four carriage horses (Przezdziecki 6, n. 1, citing *Acta jurisdictionis terrestris Cracoviensis Anni 1528-1545* vol. 28, and *Libri inscriptionum castris cracoviensis Anni 1526-1530* 295; vol. 36). The legacy may have been larger but the lady castellan's testament has been lost. The executors of Telniczańska's will were her son John and his half-sister Beata Kościelecka who was as yet to marry. After his mother died John in effect became head of the Telnicz family.

News of the death soon reached John's sister Catharine, who lived with her husband and family on the western marches of the Holy Roman Empire. On 28 December King Ferdinand of Bohemia and Hungary informed Sigismund that Count George II de Montfort wanted his wife's share of her

mother's legacy. The Austrian noble would still be waiting in 1536 for 10,000 florins from the legacy and part of his wife's dowry. Sigismund informed the intermediary, Ferdinand that the matter would be dealt with by the bishop, who was very ill and far away but would certainly not harm his own sister (*Acta Tomiciana tomus decimus* 457; no 477; *Acta Tomiciana tomus octavus decimus* 346; no 323; 416-17; no 382). Less patience was showed by John's other brother-in-law, Hieronim Szafraniec, widower of Regina, father of Anna, Suzanna and Catherine, and impecunious. On 7 September 1527 he had pawned his under-age daughters' 6,000 florin dowry to obtain the royal town of Wolbrom (*Metryka Koronna*, 118-20, 326-29; vol. 43). Between August and December 1529, if not earlier the Szafraniec girls sued their uncle and aunt, John and Beata, for 1,200 florins and the house on ul. Bracka in Cracow which their grandmother had purchased in 1510 (*Acta castrensia* 294-97, 311-12; bk. 39; 98, 172; bk. 41). The Castle Court found in the girls' favour. In March 1533 Szafraniec mortgaged his daughters' house for a 600 florin loan, which was repaid to the Treasury on 26 April (*Metryka Koronna* 712-13, 905-906; vol. 48). More interesting perhaps than the greed of John's brothers-in-law is his relationship with his youngest sister, who was born when he was sixteen years old. Beata would marry the Ostrogski heir, Duke Ilya and become an important figure in south-western Rus, inheriting from her half-brother an interest in his eponymous castle of Janushpol.

However, John also exploited the financial possibilities offered in Lithuanian law by the practice of adoption. With his mother's help he established a kinship link with the sister of Bishop Albert Tabor, who died in 1507 long before John came to Lithuania. After her husband, the former marshal of the Grand Duchy and brother of Bishop Albert Tabor of Vilnius, Bartosz Taborowicz died in 1513, his widow Anna Niemirówna-Taborowa felt insecure and unable to cope with running her own affairs. She asked her late husband's colleague the lord lieutenant of Brest and Lida, Jerzy Ilinicz to be her heir and protector. In exchange for a yearly allowance of money and food-stuffs to be paid by him and his heirs on Holy Cross Day (14 September) she formally adopted Ilinicz (*Jaszczołt* 209; *Szulc* 75-83; Rowell, "Meiluzh" 41-64; for the account of Taborowa's plight in her own words, see Appendix). She gave him her estate at Zblany in the Lida District of what is now Belarus (*Szulc* 78, note 225). Failure to pay this allowance would incur a fine (*vadium, zaruka*) of 1,000 sexagenae payable to the monarch and 500 to Taborowa. This agreement was witnessed by Bishop John of Vilnius and Bishop-elect

Nicholas Viežgaila of Kiev (Szulc 79). It appears that Ilinicz did keep his side of the bargain, but after he died on 30 July 1526, his new mother claimed Ilinicz had harmed her interests and, fearing what his sons and heirs would do with her property, she asked Sigismund the Old in November 1526 to permit her to change her will and disinherit Ilinicz's sons. This legal move to use adoption to obviate the restrictions of Lithuanian law forbidding the sale of family property (patrimony) was not uncommon. John had already dealt with one case involved the boyar Stanisław Mordas who had adopted the palatine of Trakai, Hrehor Ościk and then renounced the agreement after the palatine died (*Acta Capituli* § 54, 55) in 1521. This time the old woman sought to obtain a new protector and reinvest her property-pension in a new son – the bishop of Vilnius. He was to be heir to a third of her property (Zblany and Merkinė) with full rights, including the local advowsons. Adoption for reasons of economic security were not so rare. In 1531 John's friend the Vilnius canon and parish priest of Kernavė, Pasvalys and Kaunas, collector of customs duty at Kaunas, Erazm Eustachii Scholt, whose father lived next door to Telniczańka's house in Cracow, obtained a stone house in the merchant town of Kaunas from a local widow, Margarita Obtuchienė on account of his 'multa benemerita' and she regarded him 'tanquam filio suo adoptivo et heredi' (*In nomine* [3 Nov. 1531]). In John's case the adoption process was abetted by the bishop's mother, Catherine Telniczańka, whom Taborowa promised an annual payment of 420 sexagenae, which Ilinicz and his heirs had promised to pay her. The settlement was confirmed by Sigismund the Old in Vilnius on 28 May 1528 which mentions the 'podskarbinoi, pani Voinskoi i synu... kniaziu Ianu'. Here Voinskoi is a scribal error for Voinitskoi and the lady in question is undoubtedly Telniczańka, widow of Andrzej Kościelecki, the castellan of Wojnicz (Rowell, "Meilužė" 58-61; *Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 15* 117-18; no 78; Szulc 58-87, 80-83). In the end John bought the Ilinicz share of Zblany from Jan Illinicz on 6 February 1533 for 3,000 sexagenae before selling the whole estate to his fellow member of the Lithuanian Council of Lords and palatine of Vilnius, Jerzy Radziwiłł on 12 November 1534 for the same amount (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17* 388-90; no 403; original mss in AGAD "Dokumenty Pergaminowe" 7582, 7583, 7586). The 1533 purchase is one of the few where actual payment via the bishop's treasury is confirmed. Thus ended the adoption business.

However, a similar method of purchasing landed property through the provision of guardianship for elderly or otherwise 'insecure' boyars or the purchasing of a third part of patrimonial estates (without adoption) can be



detected in other cases. We have already seen how John operated in Volyn to build up a consolidated landholding, sometimes citing an inability to defend an area against a ‘Tatar threat’ as the reason for sale. Closer to the Lithuanian heartland early in his activities in Vilnius (20 July 1522) John took under his wing Abram Andriushkovich and his wife Elzhibieta, promising to act as their guardian in their old age until they died in return for an endowment of a third part of their estates at Vaistom (Ushakovo) and Zanaroch with the right to buy out the other two thirds (*Lietuvos Metrika Knyga Nr. 17* [20 July 1522] 377-79; no 393).

#### CONCLUSIONS

John’s income derived from office, property without significant capital; such funds were seasonal (the tributes in kind from Ihumen, for example) and not always reliable; he had few deep reserves on which to draw. He had no personal wealth on which to draw even though his father was the monarch. He had considerable expenses – not only maintaining his estate (public image) but also establishing his power base. He was a foreigner, despite being technically a Lithuanian duke, and had to build up an entourage in Vilnius from scratch. He maintained a suitable court and where possible rewarded his servants with ecclesiastical appointments. In 1520 his treasurer was one Paweł Drozdzyński, parish priest of Sieluń in the diocese of Płock; by 1521 this same cleric was parish priest of Ukmergė in Lithuania. In order to infiltrate the cathedral chapter he had to make alliances with existing canons or appoint new men at his own expense. He was not the first bishop to create canons *de mensa* but it is under his management that the practice was given statutory definition (*Acta Capituli* § 351, 363). Such canons were not to enjoy the financial privileges of the twelve official canons, such as daily allowances or options to have a house belonging to the Chapter, and they were to occupy the last stalls in choir. Their maintenance was the obligation of the bishop. In the 1520s John introduced his chancellor, Jakub Staszkowski, to the new prelacy of scholastic; among such canons *de mensa* were George Chwalczewski (1525, 1528-37), Andrzej Nadbor (1525, 1527-47), Erazm Eustachii Scholcz (1528, 1531-46, Jan Kunicki (1527, 1529-52) (Ališauskas et al. 112; no 591, 187-89; no 1053 52-53; no 214; 86-87; no 422; 140-41; no 825). He established two new prelaties which he had to fund at first from his own pocket.

John was by no means a poor man but he was not as wealthy as he might appear – he promised to pay for building work in Poznan but left debts, he was expected to restore the city walls, but died prematurely perhaps. He pledged to present the Poznań cathedral treasury with a golden chalice but left only a debt of 300, the same goes for the ring he promised on his joyful ingress into his new see. His officials did manage to introduce unpopular Lithuanian taxes. He was economically astute – he built the first glass foundry in Vilnius on condition it provide him with window glass and tableware. He purchased houses and rented them out for long term occupation – the rent of at least three generations of Kirchel burghers in Vilnius rent funded his mansionary chapel in Vilnius cathedral. He attempted to make his cathedral the only church in Vilnius where Candlemass lights could be blessed rather than in the parish church of St John or city monasteries (*Acta Capituli* § 129).

He gives the impression of never having enough ready cash at hand. Despite obtaining large swathes of financially profitable grand-ducal territory which produced considerable income, he needed to spend on administration. For example, he needed to purchase property around Kremenets, rebuild the castle and supply it with troops and cannons and had no previous investment in the area on which to draw.

At the beginning of 1540 John still owed the Poznań chapter 300 Hungarian florins for the golden chalice he had sworn he would present *ratione iucundi ingressus*. However, in this debt he was not alone. On 28 March 1548 bishops Jan Latański (1525-36), Sebastian Branicki (1539-44) and Paweł Dunin Wolski (1544-46) still owed a chalice. John also owed 20 marks for the embassy sent to Piotrków to report John's death, although this was hardly his fault. He was also expected to pay 20 marks in compensation for the damage alleged to have been done to diocesan property by his factor and his servants; 30 marks had been promised for construction work and 9 marks was outstanding for wax at Easter and other prerequisites (*Acta Capituli* [AAP] vol. 11 [CP 38], fo 19v-20; other lost chalices in *Acta Capituli* [AAP] vol. 12 [CP 39], fo 18). John bequeathed one quarter of his property for the decoration of Vilnius Cathedral but even one of the executors of his will, the palatine of Mazovia, Piotr Goryński, could not help hinting that the money might have to be paid to meet the bishop's debts – 'dubium est si ad debita contracta non expeditur' (*Acta Capituli* [LMAVBRS] fo 83v).

## APPENDIX

**1526 11 04, Vilnius**

*The second and last will and testament of Anna Niemirówna Taborowa, widow of Bartosz Taborowicz, quondam marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in which she disinherits her adopted son Jerzy Ilinicz, lord lieutenant of Brest and Lida after his death and transfers her estates of Zblany and Merkinė to her newly adopted son, the bishop of Vilnius, John of the Lithuanian Dukes. She fears lest Ilinicz's sons and heirs take control of her property. John is to enjoy all the rights and income Anna had enjoyed along with her advowsons. Since she had mortgaged her property to the bishop of 2,000 sexagenae with a chirograph and had not paid the loan back, she leaves the other two parts of her patrimony to John. She asks to be buried in the (newly finished) Bernardine church in Vilnius. The will is witnessed at her customary residence in that city.*

Ms: Warsaw, AGAD Zbiór Dokumentów Pergaminowych 7535

In sancte et individue Trinitatis, Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti nomine Amen. Cum ego Anna olim coniunx magnifici olim Bartholomei Thabor huius Magni Ducatus Littuanie marchionis sepe et multum conditionis humane imbecilitatem circumspicerem et cunctis mortalibus lege nature iam iamque esse moriendum ac nulla cuiuspiam intelligencia aut doctrina quanquam die vita cum morte commutanda sit, percipi posse, sed miseras spes nostras et ramas cogitationes velut fragile vitrum disrumpi subitaque ruina corruiere; cum omnia orta octidant, aucta senescant et quecumque gignatur in terris in id nichilum, quod nichil ante fuit, omnino redeant tantumque anima, ut immortalis, si probe, dum corpori inheserit, se se gesserit, ad sedes unde venerat etherias commigrare credatur, dum mens est mi sana in corpore, ratio solida, vita valida ac nulla adversa valetudine pressa et tandem omnibus numeris integra, decrevi ut par est vite mee prospicere bonis rebusque meis tempestive consulere atque extremo quandocumque futurus est spiritus mei termino debitam ac merita operam et industriam meam adhibere.

Quod ita me assecuturam esse arbitror, si quod iampridem cogito inutile et honestum testamentum considero et licet post virum meum iam lumine functum, cum essem flebiliter derelicta, omni egens auxilio, magnificum dominum Georgium Hylynycz<sup>10</sup>, regie curie marchionem, Brestensem, Lydensem capitaneum etc ex conditione apposita adoptaverim heredemque

<sup>10</sup> Jerzy Ilinicz (ca 1471-1526), court marshal, lord lieutenant of Brest and Lida (Aliakhnovich et al. 64-92).

testamento instituerim in curia mea Sblany, ut me viventem et simul bona mea et iura mea perpetuo et fideliter tueretur ecclesiamque in eadem curia et districtu edificaret eamque se facturum esse, ut ipsis litteris eius et nonnullorum aliorum testium sigillis obsignatis in parte constat, subponere obligaret, me quoque, ut et leges et canonice sanctiones iubent, tanquam suam matrem coleret et observaret. Ceterum ipse quam diu egit inter vivos horum mihi nichil unquam omnino prestitit, nichil servavit, immo longe aliter quam in eo speraveram erga me se gessit; unde magna bonis meis detrimenta attulit, que sine summo dolore commemorare non possum. Equidem cum essem multa et gravia et indigna sepe perpesse, sepe animo volutaveram, cum etiam in vita manentem tam ex eius inobedientia quam ingratitude exhereditare, omitto indignacionem, iram, mesticiam meam, in quam ille me crebro actendebat, et iniurias quibus me afficiebat vehementer verebar ne eo viro aliquando unacum patrimonio et omnibus fortunis meis preceque irem in ultimum evitium meum. Nunc vero eodem etiam vita perfuncto magis atque magis metuo formidoque plurimum, ne hec quidem bona mea inter tot eius liberos, tot heredes<sup>11</sup> funditus et raditibus dissipantur et miserabiliter dilabantur, id quod Deus Optimus Maximus pro sua clemencia et pietate avertat. Primum igitur omnium testamentum istud conditionale, quod prius confeceram eoque capitaneum ipsum heredem cum suis successoribus feceram in prenominate bonis meis revoco, abrogo, deleo, exheredito, casso, anichilo ac irritum, ruptum et nullum esse esse [!] volo, funditus et tollo et prouo, aufero et hinc denique imposterum nulla ex parte valere aut tenere aut aliquod robur in se habere sino aut permitto sed totum in toto tanquam nunquam in rerum natura fuisset, annullo atque in nichilo sine omni controversia et excepcione aut esse aut haberi concludo. Et quemadmodum voluntas testatoria, deambulatoria est usque ad mortem ita dicto priore testamento penitus a me invalidata atque sublata et extincto, sponte, libere, legitime et canonice condo facioque secundum testamentum, hoc alterum spontaneum premeditatumque.

Quoquidem testamento secundo illustrissimum principem ac Reverendissimum Episcopum vlnensem Dominum Joannem ex Littuanie Ducibus, ex multis et magnis beneficiis atque meritis erga me suis mota, adopto in filium meum adoptivum instituoque testamento heredem in tertia omnium bonorum parte, duabus videlicet curiis meis hereditariis Szblanye<sup>12</sup> et Merez,<sup>13</sup> quas

<sup>11</sup> Ilinicz's sons: Jan (ca 1506-1531), Stanisław (ca 1509-1531), Feliks (Szczęsny) (ca 1510-1542), (Aliakhnovich et al. 99-106, 107-108, 108-12).

<sup>12</sup> Zblany, estate in the Lida powiat, now in Belarus.

<sup>13</sup> Merez, Merkinė, a town in Lithuania, 28 km south of Alytus (Olita).

eidem principi et episcopo ambas exnunc in perpetuum do tradoque, adscribo et dedico, reliquo et ratifico plene et integre cum omni meo solido dominio, iure hereditario iureque patronatus, possessione, proprietate, usufructu, libertate et usu eque ac ego ipsa hactenus iuste, legitime, quiete et pacifice dictas ambas curias tenebam, possidebam, regebam, gubernabam, colebam, fruebar et utebar cum omnibus hominibus et universis eorum tributis, censibus, contributionibus, dacionibus, proventibus, utilitatibus, serviciis, operis et laboribus quibuscumque, mellificiis, animalibus eorumque tam parvorum quam magnorum et castorum venacionibus, terris, agris, sylvis, nemoribus, campis, planiciebus, vallibus, collibus, promontoriis, montibus, aquis, fluminibus et eorum navigiis, fontibus, rivis, paludibus, stagnis, lacubus, piscinis, hortis, pomariis, virdariis, pabulis, gaiis, prediis, lucis, vicis, villis, districtibus, territoriis, latifundiis quibuscumque locis, expiscacionibus, venacionibus et ancupiis, attinenciis, termis, finibus, confinibus, viis et itineribus ad utramque curiam sepe commemoratam attinentibus et pertinentibus, debitis et necessariis et cunctis commoditatibus et emolumentis, quibuscumque titulis, prerogativis, nominibus atque cognominibus talia bona mea immobilia nuncupentur. Quas quidem curias supradictas filius meus et heres meus ita plenarie habeat, teneat atque possideat ut ego habebam, tenebam et possidebam easque ut verus successor, heres et dominus quociens tociens voluerit, valeat et possit pignorare, invadiare, vendere, obligare, permutare, dare, locare et quomodocumque alienare cuicumque placuerit, visum et decretum fuerit cum omnimoda libertate, potestate et facultate iudicio arbitrioque suo. Et quoniam preffatus dominus, princeps et episcopus, filius adoptivus et heres meus liberaliter ac benefice michi in necessitatibus meis duo millia sexagenarum monete peccunieque Littuanie communiter currentis iampridem mutavit, ut ex cirographo meo liquido constat; et ego ad hec usque tempora, illustrissime ac reverendissime dominacioni sue adhuc dictam summam peccuniarum non restitui, ne aut ingrata esse videar aut rem gravare aut iddignacioni aliquam afferre, eidem principi et episcopo vilnensi, ut filio meo charissimo ac meritissimo, reliquas universi patrimonii meas duas partes testamento hoc ipso presenti quoque lego, relinquo, dimitto, contribuo et consigno; itaque heres omnium bonorum meorum necessarius esto et unicus successor meus in universis et singulis bonis meis patrimonialibus et hereditariis sibi habendis ac perpetuo possidendis haud secus quam ego quidem ipsa habebam, possidebam et realiter in illis dominabar cum omnibus quibuscumque rebus suis propriis et necessariis ad universa bona mea immobilia quecumque appropriatis attinentibus et quomodocumque pertinentibus, iuratis, additis et pro-

venientibus cum quibusvis aquis, terris, arboribus, animalibus et hominibus ut in superdictis curiis recensitis et ordine commemoratis singulisque nominibus et cognominibus suis connumeratis ex eis nichil penitus excipiendo aut pro me meisque consanguineis, affinis vel amicis reservando neque etiam pro filiis et successoribus dicti olim domini Hylynycz legitimis, de quorum tutela ex causis superius descriptis ab hac hora in et ante ea volo esse libera et penitus illi, si qua fuerat per expressum renunctio; quandoquidem hec est mea firma et ultima voluntas, quam hinc imposterum ita ratifico et nulla ratione, via, forma, modo, consilio quorumcumque labefactari, infringi aut imutari possit, sed ad novissimum vite mee presentis finem durare et permanere inviolabiliter et inconcussa valeat.

Que ut suum veracem et immutabilem sorciatur effectum, volo, opto ac Deo Summo ac externo omnium voluntatum arbitro devote ac religiose supplico ut pro sua pia, clementi et divina providencia me viva et mortua ac eandem sinceram et puram ac meram voluntatem mentemque meam iurare, conservare et denique perpetuare dignetur.

Quamobrem, illustrissime princeps, episcopo reverendissime, fili mi suavissime, vestram dominacionem etiam atque etiam enixissime oro, queso et obsecro ut me meaque omnia materna pietate complectatur, cumque animam contingat exire de corpore, funus mei corporis dignetur mandare sepelliri in ecclesia Sancti Bernhardini Vilne fratrum de Observancia<sup>14</sup> et ut hoc ipsum testamentum et mea ultima voluntas, heredis institutio et adoptio suum sorciatur effectum roburque habeat perpetuum rogavi notarium infrascriptum Dominum Matthiam Berthrandi<sup>15</sup> facti huiusmodi scribam testamentum, ut premissum est, sic per me confectum in publica forma subscribi ac testes facti huiusmodi presentes, videlicet Reverendum virum et generosos dominos Joannem Silvium Amatam<sup>16</sup> iuris utriusque doctorem, canonicum et officialem vilnensem, Stanislae [!] Janowycz Pyeczkwycz, Simonem Styczkwycz<sup>17</sup> vexilliferum nyemencensem, Marcum Lapkowszky ut hoc meum testamentum sigillo meo imprimis communitum eorum sigillis obsignarent dominacionesque sue voto meo acquiescant sigilla sua subappendere tradiderunt.

<sup>14</sup> Anna's burial place to be the Bernardine or Observant Franciscan church of St Francis of Assisi (Vilnius, now Maironio g. 10), construction of which was completed in 1525.

<sup>15</sup> Mathias Bertrandi de Borkowo, notary public from Borkowo in Mazovia, diocese of Płock, active 1518-1532, in service of John of the Lithuanian Dukes.

<sup>16</sup> Joannes Amatus Siculus, canon of Vilnius (1518-1537), humanist and lawyer, born in the Sicilian town of Palermo, Official of the diocese of Vilnius, 1526.

<sup>17</sup> Szymko Steczkowicz Sakowicz, standard-bearer of Nemenčinė (23 km north-east of Vilnius) 1526-1554, died shortly after 26 Oct. 1556.

Actum et datum Vilne in curia mee solite residence die dominica infra octavas Omnium Sanctorum, que fuit quarta mensis Novembris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo sexto indicione quartadecima, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis divina providencia pape septimi anno ipsius tercio. Presentibus quibus supra nec non honorabili et discretis viris Michaele mansionario in ecclesia cathedrali vilnensi, Joanne Sthrzambosch, Nicolao Kozyczenyszky, Nicolao de Lomza, Felice de Zuprany notariis publicis, clericis cracoviensis, plocensis ac vilnensis diocesis, testibus quoque ad premissa vocatis atque rogatis.

SIGN: *A quatrefoil flower standing on a rectangular platform bearing the inscription INRI, below the platform is a monogram MH.*

Et ego Matthias Bertrandi de Borcowo clericus diocesis plocensis notarius sacra auctoritate apostolica publicus quia predictis testamenti ordinacionem, in filium adopcionem, exhereditacionem, heredis constitucionem sive instrumentum, mutui debiti conferionem aliisque omnibus et singulis premissis, dum sic ut premittitur [...] unacum prenomatis testibus presens interfui eaque sic facta vidi et audivi. Ideo hoc [presens] publicum instrumentum et testamentum in publicam formam redactum subscripsi

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*In nomine domini amen (...) In mei, notarii publici (...) presentia constituta personaliter (...) Margareta Olsuchova, civis Cavnensis (...)*. 3 Nov. 1531. Pergamentinių raštų rinkinys. F3, Bažnytiniai dokumentai, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, Rankraščių skyrius, F3-101.

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*ILLUSTRISIME PRINCEPS, EPISCOPE REVERENDISSIME:*  
HOW DID JOHN OF THE LITHUANIAN DUKES FINANCE HIS LIFE  
AS PRINCE AND BISHOP?

Summary

From childhood, the son of Sigismund the Old and Catherine Telniczanka, John of the Lithuanian Dukes (1499-1538), knew he was a prince, and so did his contemporaries. However, maintaining a princely estate does not come cheaply. The aim of this article is not to examine in detail the financial records of this princely cleric, for such documents no longer exist, nor shall we speak in general of the official income of the bishops of Vilnius; rather, we shall examine, where the meagre sources permit, how the bishop garnered income from property deals, the patronage of artisans, loans, and tax farming to fund his activities as a prince of the Church and a responsible secular lord. A broad account is given of John’s income and expenditure in childhood, his clerical career in the sees of Płock, Poznań and Vilnius, and his acquisition of property in Šiauliai and Volyn. Attention is also paid to the bishop’s use of the adoption law to his financial advantage.

John was by no means a poor man but he was not as wealthy as he might appear – he promised to pay for building work in Poznań but left debts; he was expected to restore the city walls, but died prematurely. He pledged to present the Poznań cathedral treasury with a golden chalice but left only a debt of 300 złoty; the same goes for the ring he promised on his joyful ingress into his new see. He was economically astute – he built the first glass foundry in Vilnius on condition it provide him with window glass and tableware. He purchased houses and rented them out for long term occupation – the rent of at least three generations of Kirchel burghers in Vilnius funded his mansionary chapel in Vilnius cathedral. He gives the impression of never having enough ready cash at hand, despite obtaining large swathes of financially profitable grand-ducal territory which produced the considerable income he needed to spend on administration.

**Keywords:** John of the Lithuanian Dukes; Vilnius bishop; income; debts; status

ILLUSTRISSIME PRINCEPS, EPISCOPE REVERENDISSIME:  
Z CZEGO UTRZYMYWAŁ SIĘ JAN Z KSIĄŻĄT LITEWSKICH  
BĘDĄC KSIĘCIEM I BISKUPEM?

Streszczenie

Jan z Książąt Litewskich (1499–1538), syn króla Zygmunta Starego i Katarzyny Telniczanki, od dziecka miał świadomość, że jest księciem – wiedzieli o tym także jemu współcześni – a utrzymanie książęcego majątku nie było tanie. Celem prezentowanego artykułu nie jest szczegółowe omówienie dokumentacji finansowej księcia (który był także duchownym), ponieważ taka się nie zachowała, ani też opis oficjalnych źródeł dochodu biskupów wileńskich. Korzystając natomiast ze skąpych źródeł, autor bada, w jaki sposób książę pozyskiwał środki z transakcji majątkowych, patronatu nad rzemieślnikami, pożyczek, poboru podatków rolnych na finansowanie jego działalności jako zarówno księcia w kościele, jak i odpowiedzialnego pana. Obszernie omówione zostały dochody i wydatki Jana, gdy był dzieckiem, a także te związane z jego karierą jako duchownego w biskupstwie płockim, poznańskim i wileńskim, a także nabyciem przez niego posiadłości w miejscowości Szawle i na Wołyniu. Autor analizuje także sposób wykorzystania przez niego prawa adopcyjnego dla osiągnięcia finansowych korzyści.

Jan nie był bynajmniej człowiekiem ubogim, ale nie był także zbytnio zamożny, jak mogłoby się wydawać. Obiecał sfinansować prace budowlane w Poznaniu, ale pozostawił długi. Miał pokryć koszty odrestaurowania murów miejskich, ale zmarł przedwcześnie. Zobowiązał się ofiarować katedrze poznańskiej złoty kielich, ale pozostawił dług w wysokości 300 złotych. Podobna sytuacja miała miejsce w przypadku pierścienia, który obiecał ufundować z okazji uroczystego ingresu do nowej stolicy biskupiej. Jan był osobą przedsiębiorczą – wybudował pierwszą w Wilnie odlewnię szkła, która zapewniła mu szkło okienne i zastawę stołową. Kupował domy i wynajmował je długookresowo – z czynszu pobieranego od co najmniej trzech pokoleń rodziny Kirchlów w Wilnie ufundował swoją kaplicę mansjonarską w katedrze wileńskiej. Można odnieść wrażenie, że Janowi zawsze brakowało gotówki, mimo że był w posiadaniu dużych i dochodowych połaci majątków wielkookresowych, pozyskując z nich środki na zarządzanie swoim majątkiem.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Jan z Książąt Litewskich; biskup wileński; dochody; długi; status